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MR. CHASES' SPEECH AGAINST THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOUR

November

PROBIBITION.

and control of the territorial govern- gained under this compact, after Mis-

declared this great wrong to be its vital pact is nothing but an ordinary act of principle. He tells us that the repeal legislation, which may be repealed with should be restricted to the simple apof the Missouri prohibition of slavery is out any violation of faith! THE PRINCIPLE of the bill. Against that repeal, every word uttered by me upon ator from Florida (Mr. Mullory) has tion precincts; notify an election of gothis floor, in opposition to the bill, has told us that the news of its repeal will vernor, judges, secretary, and members this agitation continue, just so long will umphs.

been directed. in the territory is nothing more not less who will receive that intelligence with gislature and the organization of the gothan a simple declaration that every in-habitant of the territory shall be recog-n zed sea free man, and protected in and dishonor of an ancient and sacred man derives from God. I join with the truction of a security and guarantee of ies, could be devised. I do not see how the special friends the appointment of officers, so far as it see the ancient and settled policy of the of the great doctrine of inalienable by universal acquiescence has been re- of that doctrine to vote against it, with- can be constitutionally done, and configurement, and breaks down a great

from that honorable Senator in some is the great merit of the bill, in the eyes great security for personal freedom and important particulars. I have no doubt of the distinguished Senator from Mich. individual liberty; as no bill of non-inwhatever so to the constitutional power igan. But he tells us, also, that in oth- tervention, but as a bill which substi- vering in the path of political duty, which whatever as to the constitutional power of Congress to legislate for a territory. It is needless new to inquire into the source from which that power is derived. The Senator from Michigan denies its existence, but at the same moment, as it seems to me, concedes it in the assertion of the opponents of the responsibility between the control of the people, thro' their chosen representatives, the control of the people at their chosen representatives, the control of the people at their chosen representatives, the control of the people at their chosen representatives, the control of the people at their chosen representatives, the control of the people at their chosen representatives, the control of the people at their chosen representatives, the control of the people at their chose As wite bill ceme from the Comtranscript of Congress or Com Carlistrice, it was an extra
con of the sign of Congress or congress or interactive in the correction of the sign of the courty of the court of the courty of the court of the courty of the courty of the courty of the courty of the court of the courty of the court of the courty of the court of the courty of the courty

these rights. It is for the sake of that the secretary, the district attorney, and of Senators, than that of the Independent beautiful that this prohibition is so dear the marshal, who must necessarily exer-

slavery from the territory northwest of the Mississippi was parcel of a compact of them, whenever he pleases. The between two great sections of the country. But when I have insisted upon the full is to substitute president have been told that I have no right to claim it because I was no friend to the original compromise of which it formed original compromise of which it formed original compromise of which it formed in respect to this bill may be summed in respect to this bill may be summed that the opponents of slavery in either the opponents of slavery in either whill is ready to go as far at least, if not while few see, and fewer praise, the herocentralization of power, and the denationalizing of slavery, and the denationalizing of slavery upon the grounds which I is a tritle to the political future of Utah.

It is a tritle remark that more courage is required to decline a duel than to the political future of Utah.

Clearly, then, Mr. President, the slavery question is not to be excluded from the fight one. The physical course that of the ground us, but the denationalizing of slavery upon the grounds which I is a tritle of the cread is traceable to the grounds which I is a tritle of the cread in the denationalizing of slavery upon the grounds which I have inlicated.

Clearly, then, Mr. President, the slave in the denationalizing of slavery upon the grounds which I is a tritle of the cread is traceable to the grounds which I is a tritle of the cread in the denationalizing of slavery upon the grounds which I is a tritle of the cread in the creation of a part. Why, sir, when that comprom prefer that of Congress, to be exercised stitution is beyond the reach of the con. That object which its advocates profess nerves entirely, a mere animal faculty. Presbyterian clergyman, and made it the ise was made, I was a little boy, at by the representatives of the States and stitutional legislation of Congress, should to have so much at heart, cannot in this school. Of course, I was neither art nor of the people, rather than that of a Pressident slavery be allowed to exist. Within way he attained. part of it. But as I grew up to man's ident, too likely, unler existing circum. those States, slavery should be left to estate, and became acquainted with the great public questions of our history, I of his office for the extension and part of the people, rather than that of a Prestate way no attained.

Will slavery find its way into the termination of the extension of the extension of the extension and part of the stigma of cowardice, affixed in those states, slavery should be left to control, regulation, or abortion to the stigma of cowardice, affixed in those states, slavery should be left to control, regulation, or abortion to the stigma of cowardice, affixed in the certainly saw no reason for approving petuation of slavery.

the compromise. If the making of it were now an original question, I would not be established in the territories, it not be established in the territories, it lasts for days, weeks, months, and even ies will have one result which deserves tinguishes the Senator from Louisiana, will not be the fault of this bill. It years. The bullet has to be faced but in a contrary opinion, I think play. In the one case too, the struggle quent banishment from Missouri, are myself there is danger. If slavery shall is over in a few hours. In the other it familiar to our realers, not less than his not be established in the territories, it lasts for days, weeks, months, and even it inquishes the Senator from Louisiana, will not be the fault of this bill. It years. The bullet has to be faced but in a contrary opinion, I think play. In the one case too, the struggle quent banishment from Missouri, are and the Representatives of the slave determined by the results of Presidential States united in it. It was acquiesced in by the people of both sections of the people of both sections of the people of both sections of the conspicuously into country. For more than a third of a the conflicts of party. If the people decountry is her stood and accounts the people decountry is her stood and account the people of the territo-but the people of the time. To write the people of the territo-but the people of th

therefore repealable. Sr, if this compact yet remained unexecuted, it might be abrogated by the out of territories were made in Washing. Letting us alone, you will yourselves be the na ion the exclusion of slavery from bill, immediately after the rejection of parties who made it, without reproach ton. I do not fully accept this state- let alone, the Clayton amendment, Mr. Chase to either. But it does not remain unex- ment. But no body can doubt that the to either. But it does not remain unex. ment. But no body can doubt that the I see no other road, Mr. President, to of the territories will pay small regard ecuted. It has been completely fulfilled powers conferred on the President by peace, than this. The religious convictor to the doctrine of those Senators who in-I can not, Mr. President, permit this on the part of the free States. Their this bill will enable him to mould the tions, the social sentiments, the economic sist that they have no right to legislate bill to pass, without the utterance of a few words. The rejection of the amend ment upon which we have just voted, is or the less souri and Arkansas as slave States, sole- themselves. valuable because coerced from its op- ly upon the ground of this compact. Nor | Sir, I am opposed to this Presidential It is impossible, so long as the action promptly, for the protection of themnone ats by a necessity to which they can it be doubted that the admission of intervention. It is an abuse of language of the government shall be in any way selves and their children against this ave yielded so reluctantly. The bill all the slave States which have come last conceles a full, ample, and coming into the Union since Missouri, was settle reverse. It is absolutely the tereorgition in these new territories of the right of immigrants from the sentiment and the legislation of the my determined resistance to the repeal here at the sent of the national governiance into the territorian bill. It is absolutely the halfs. So long as slavery continues be excluded from Congress, and slavery here at the sent of the national governiance into the territorian bill which authorizes it, a non-to with from the question from these halfs. So long as slavery continues be excluded from Congress, and slavery here at the sent of the national governiance into the territorian bill. It is absolutely the halfs. So long as slavery continues be excluded from Congress, and slavery here at the sent of the national governiance. Old World to an equal participation country. And now, sir, after the slave of the Missouri prohibition-that sim ment, sanctioned and regulated by acts tories, what other advantage do Senators with the notive born in the organization States have gained all that could be ple guarantee of inclienable rights- of Congress; so long as slavery is per- from slave States see in this bill, which souri and Arkansas had been admitted, But, sir, while this principle is con- and the remnant of the territory covercoiled, the great wrong of the bill still ed by it, south of 36 deg. 30 min., has remains conspicuous and flagrant. The been filled up by slaveholding Indian dential intervention. That amendment and children are sold at auction, under power, in respect to future territoria Senator from Virginia has emphatically tribes, we are coolly told that this com-

send a thrill of pleasure through the of the legislature, to be held on a cer- there be no peace. I have never controverted the right of hearts of thousands. It may be so. But, tain day; receive and count the votes, the people of the territories to govern sir, there are other thousands, and tens and announce the result, and appoint a themselves. The prohibition of slavery of thousands, and hundreds of thousands place and time for the meeting of the le- pose this bill, the principle of de-cen- paves the way for the approach of new the enjoyment of all the rights which obligation. They will see in it the destrine of self-government in the territor we wish to diminish it, as far as possi- events. It is because the bill puts in

rights. It is to protect these rights that governments are instituted among men; and it is because the prohibition of slavery fulfils this greatest object of govern
wery fulfils this greatest object of govern
out the most manifest inconsistency. But on the most manifest inconsistency. But on the most manifest inconsistency. But oppose this bill because it enlarges the power of the Executive, and because it oppose this bill because it enlarges the power of the Executive, and because it oppose this bill because it oppose this ment, that I revere and defend it. are told that it gives the principle of regarding the bill as the violation of a But, Mr. President, I differ widely Congressional non-intervention. That solemn compact; as an abrogation of a

proposed an amendment which would mitted in the national territories; so long induces them so vahemently to demand tories the absolute control of their own licensed and enrolled vessels of the papers, that the principle of this bill is affairs, without congressional or president States; so long as men, wemen. proposed that the action of the President process of the federal courts; so long as acquisitions. It is suggested that Cuba in the organization of the territories, pointment of commissioners, who should It is to be repealed to night. The Sen- divide the country into convenient elec. exerted for the acquisition of additional are to be the theaters upon which this

slaveholding territory, just so long will

power to elect their own officers. will go forward without faltering or wa- of Ohio.

compromises. But, sir, the compromise attention. The question of free lom or (Mr. Benjamin,) and I would in my turn breaks down the barrier. It offers a once the averted look, the sneering whiswas made. It was made by our lathers. slavery in the territories, in the absence appeal to Senators from the slave States. free entrance. I have strong hope, however, that slavery will be exclude by Doth kinds of courage are maritorious. Lakes. What trials and sufferings they century it has stood untouched. These sire to secure the territories for freedom, sponsibility of upholding a system, con- and laboring men from our own States, shall have reached its Millenium, moral indominable spirit of proselytism they are the great facts. I disregard all mere they must have a President who will not technicalities and petty quibbles about what was done in 1820. In the present administration of it through the action of the which it was the duty of this governwill not suffer depreciation, except relations. Seek no extechnicalities and petty quibbles about which it was the duty of this governwill not suffer depreciation, except relations. Seek no extension of it through the action of the which it was the duty of this governwill not suffer depreciation, except relations. Seek no extension of it through the action of the which it was the duty of this governwill not suffer depreciation, except relations.

have ever since seen in it. A compact, can change also the whole character of rection of emancipation. Should it be of the country awake to a just sense of rather than do wrong. A warrior is not binding upon honor and good faith, although the official influence over the territories, otherwise, we shall claim no right, their rights, and their duties, and, while ble, but a martyr is nebler.—[Dollar though embodied in a legislative act, and The late distinguished Senator from through the agency of your common they extend ready and abundant aid to Paper. Massachusetts once said, in substance, government, to dictate or control your free immigration into the territories, that the constitutions of States formed actions. Doing this, you can have peace, sternly demand from the legislature of all territories by law. I trust the people cilably at variance in respect to slavery. do I hope that they will act, and ac

have secured to the people of the terri- as the slave-trade is allowed by law in its passage? It is give out in the news furitive-slave acts remain on the statute the territory to be acquired from Mexico books of national legislation; so long as under the Gadsden treaty, the Sandwich the powers of this government shall be Islands perhaps Hayti and Dominica. principle is to achieve its greatest tri-

I shall not go into this subject here and But sir, if the principle of denational new. These questions must be me izing slavery did not constrain us to op- when they arise. This bill doubtless tralizing power would compel us, as alarming, and perhaps tatal dangers to against it, as I now do, my earnest and Now, Mr. President, whatever others solemn protest, and to join with my colmay do, the Independent Democrata leauge in recording against it the vote

What is true Courage.

bsolute security in the enjoyment of lative acts; the President is to appoint less, in proportion to the whole number wishes of the pro-slavery wing, that their children, to a life-long slavery, worse to the people of the country.

I have heretofore expressed the opinion. Mr. President, that the exclusion of slavery from the territory northwest of but he may remove them all, or either of the pro-slavery from the territory northwest of but he may remove them all, or either of the section of the manual phinary from the territory northwest of but he may remove them all, or either of the section of the manual phinary from the territory northwest of but he may remove them all, or either of the section of the manual phinary from the territory northwest of but he may remove them all, or either of the section of the manual phinary from the territory northwest of but he may remove them all, or either of the section of the manual phinary from the territory northwest of but he may remove them all, or either of the section of the manual phinary from the territory northwest of but he may remove them all, or either of the section of the manual phinary from the territory northwest of but he may remove them all, or either of the section of the manual phinary from the territory northwest of but he may remove them all, or either the pro-slavery from the country.

The history of the growth of this section of the manual phinary from the territory northwest of but he may remove them all, or either the pro-slavery from the pro-slavery may the form of the other of the old wear away, something holier and loftier than the pro-slavery wings of both, or either of the old wear away, something holier and loftier than the pro-slavery from the

take the plain, general result of the tration, indeed, will make the first apwhole, and I see in this compromise pointments, but, the officers thus apof your States, act upon your own coning these disadvantages, I trust the cause grand thing to face death without flinch-

The Calm of Death.

close the weary eyes, there are no more into their beautiful valley. These facts tears to shed; part the damp locks, there's may not be so well known but they are no more pain to bear. Closed is the ear none the less significant. slike to love's kind voice, and calum- This transparent cheat seems destin-

way; if your loving glance, and kindly the long and perilous journey to Utah. word, and clasping hand, have come all Every motive to emigration is urged to the blue veined temples.

a sister's loving lip? No throb of plea- the Union as an independent soversignsure from the maternal bosom?-Silent ty.

gathered up! If beyond death's swelling is generally anticipated. Already colflood there was no eternal shore! If for lisions have occurred between the Foller. the struggling bark there was no port of al Judges sent out to Utah by the Gova peace!-if athwart that lowering cloud ernment and the religious officers of the sprung no bright hope of promise! FARRY FERN.

One Glass of Wine.

A very interesting history of the birth. parentage and rise to power of the Emperor of France is given in Harper's Magazine. Included in this article, we also find the history of 'one glass of and Illinois. Their militia are in conwine,' as follows: The Duke of Orleans, the eldest son

could transmit. He was a noble young They can already raise a force of 80 panions to breakfast with him, as he cades, and their remotasts. Lieu was about to take his departure from Gunnison gave it as his opinion, that viviality of the hour he drank a little too force which we could send against the dissipated man. His character was lof Pierce! Their strength is increased

ucation and skepticism fully to eradicate abomination.

The history of the growth of this sect

gard the stigma of cowardice, affixed in His history in Ohio, his bank and mering of his followers, and their exodons Norway, Iceland, France, Germeny, Svitzerland, Malta, Gibraltar, Hindooswhat the man of the time saw in it, and pointed are removeable at pleasure, and scientious judgments. We shall rejoice of freedom will prevail in the territories. In will prevail in the territories ing. But as society advances, it will be tan, Australia, and the Sandwich Islands, what the people of the whole country the people, by changing the President, if those judgements lead you in the di-West Indies, Gui is and Cnili; translating their silly book of Mormon, and sillier revelations, into French, German, Italian, Danish, Polynesian, and Walsh; Clasp the hands meekly over the still baptizing converts by the thousand, and breast, they've no more work to do; gathering them from the ends of the earth

ed to a yet larger success. The ele-O, if in that still heart you have ruth- ment of polygamy has entired followers lessly planted a thorn; if from that whom no spiritual influence could have pleading eye you carelessly turned a entired from their homes to undertake

too late-then God forgive you! No by the Mormon missionary. An emifrown gathers on the marble brow as gration fund is provided, which overyou gaze --- no scorn curls the chiseled comes the greatest of obstacles. The lip-no flush of wounded feeling mounts attractive oratory of those who paint: sensual paradise, and the remarkable God forgive you! for your feet, too similarity of the land on which they now must shrink appalled from death's cold dwell to the Canaan of Scripture, gives river-your faltering tengue ask, 'Can vigor to the cause. There are at least this be death?' your fading eye linger 3,000 per annum arriving in this counlovely on the sunny earth; your clammy try from Europe, en route for the fand hand yield its last faint pressure; your of promise. There is perhaps, in all, sinking pulse give its last faint flutter. | an increase of 8,000 per annum to the O, rapacious grave! yet another vice population of Salt Lake Valley. There tim for thy voiceless keeping! What! is now some 30,000 in Utah, and it will no word of welcome from all thy house not be long before they will number hold sleepers?-No warm greeting from sufficiently to demand admission into

Here lies a political problem, whose O, if these broken limbs were never solution may demand more wisdom then Cerritory. These difficulties will grow with the increusing strength of the Mormons. It is suid that the Mormon lesders are taking every measure which is calculated to secure themselves against a repetition of the exterminating process they were subjected to in Missour stant drill. Every man capable of bearing arms is enrolled, and the apostles. of King Louis Phillippe, was the inheritas officers, at the head of the troops. when we consider their mountain have the Mormons might already defy any